1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443 838 567 548 [684] [562] [583]

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

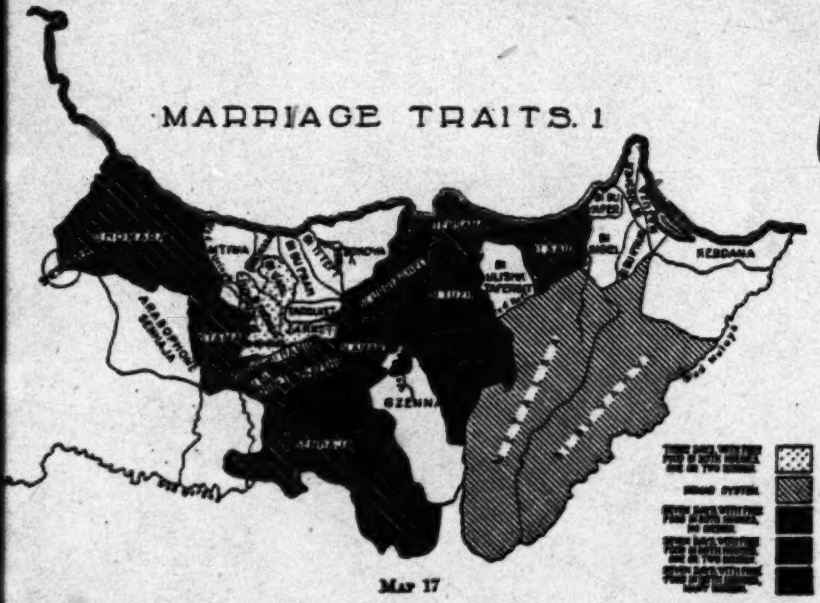
Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One reason for exceptionally early marriages is the desire of the parents to have their wishes fulfilled before the children are old enough to make preferences and insist upon them strongly.

When a boy has decided which girl he would like to marry, or when his parents have decided for him and have argued him into submission, the boy's mother seeks out the girl's mother in the women's market or in the ordinary market, and broaches the subject in such a circumlocutory way that if the latter does not show preliminary signs of acceptance the


MARRIAGE TRAITS. 1
RIFFIANS
BERBERS
BERBERS
ARABOPHONE BERBERS
BERBERS
BERBERS

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

583 584 their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghzuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

584 When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

584 304 As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *vein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *vein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *vein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

585 786 The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

585 As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wezir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

583 584 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage, which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or they, fix the bride-price (ssdhăq) and the manner of payment. This 583 584 212 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e. documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this 583 584 562 593 586 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

584 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subse-
431 quent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

584 Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear
[594] propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits
[431] the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the
● [583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

584 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift
583 from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

584 583 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

[114] [124]

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170) puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
[671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamsgra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group